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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JULY 19, 1919

The Betsy Ross of Suffrage

Adding a Star at Woman's Party Headquarters for Each State that Ratifies

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.
ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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Notes of the Week

A New Minimum Wage For Women of District of Columbia

AS this issue goes to press the Wage Board of the District of Columbia is considering a new resolution offered by a committee of employees, employers and representatives of the public which will give to women workers in mercantile stores in the District a minimum wage of $16.50 a week for experienced workers and $12.50 for those learning the trade. This award has just been made, and it marks the highest minimum wage ever adopted in the United States. California has hitherto ranked highest in this line, with a minimum of $13.50 a week for women in stores.

Miss Clara Mortenson, secretary of the District board, says that employers in Washington are giving the board admirable cooperation. "They have freely conceded," she says, "our assumption that a woman should receive a living wage, and this without regard to whether she lives at home. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor made an investigation in Washington and decided that $16.00 is the minimum wage which will provide a fair living and some recreation for a woman, and employees accept that figure as a tentative basis for negotiations with their employees."

The standards fixed by the board are compulsory for every employer. At present 53 percent of the women in stores receive $12 a week or less, and only 25 percent receive more than $16. About 7,000 women will be affected by the introduction of the new scale.

When the board establishes a minimum wage it must be paid exclusive of any bonuses or commissions that an employer may give. Though only small amounts are allowed in the minimum for amusements, vacation, savings, insurance, church, charity, membership dues and self-improvement, the board feels that inclusion of these items represents a distinct advance in wage economics.

Monuments For Indian Women

THE statues of American women can be counted upon the fingers of two hands, yet out of this small number two have been erected in honor of Indian women, and one Indian woman has two statues to her memory, says Gaines Halle in "The Daily Oklahoman."

The school children of America are as familiar with the story of Pocahontas as they are with that of George Washington, while the story of Sacajawea, who guided the Lewis and Clark expedition across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and to whom, more than any other one person, is due the success of the expedition, is practically unknown, though equally poetic, dramatic and of far greater historic value.

It remained for a number of enthusiastic women of the Northwest to brush away the dust of a hundred years, and call from out of the misty past this Indian heroine and give her the place she so bravely won among the makers of history. They started a movement for the erection of a statue to the Indian woman's memory.

The statue now stands in the City Park at Portland. It is an historic bronze figure, with a papoose on her back, pointing the way up the gorges and over the mountains, and is the most artistic statue ever erected to the memory of woman. It rests on an ivy-covered ledge and bears the following inscription: "Erected by the women of the United States to Sacajawea, the only woman in the Lewis and Clark party, and in memory of the pioneer mother of Oregon."

The statue is the work of Alice Cooper, and when it was unveiled 300 Indians took part in the ceremony. "The Star-Spangled Banner" was sung in the native tongue of the Alaskan Indians.

Woman's Position in Hungary

NEWS by letter from Hungary states that under the new Hungarian government women are no longer discriminated against either politically or economically. They rank equal to men in both work and pay, this being the first indication that since the overthrow of the old imperial government men are recognizing the full equality of women in industry. We are given now the picture of changed conditions where women receive the same pay as men and are compensated in direct proportion to the physical hardship of their work. It is said that women helped considerably in the establishment of the new government, though women in public life were more interested in feminism than in the accomplishment of the revolution itself. There are, however, many women heads of departments specializing in school and recreation work and child-welfare and public-welfare activities. In Budapest alone there are twenty women sitting in the governmental council.

Monsieur Viviani Speaks for Suffrage

THE speech of Monsieur Viviani on suffrage before the French Chamber of Deputies is partly reported in the "Common Cause." In regard to the argument that votes for women will destroy the integrity of family life, he said: "That has already been destroyed by the economic developments of the last fifty years. He went on to speak of the actual fate of the girls of the bourgeois class, in a terrible descriptive passage, which one can hardly read without seeing again in one's mind those scenes from Brieux's play 'Les trois filles de Monsieur Dupont,' which made such a deep impression when it was produced in England. Afterwards, he described the working-class mother, forced to go out to the factory and leave her child at an institution, and showed how the present industrial conditions have made any home life that is worth having almost impossible for the families of the poor. 'After this,' he said, 'do not let anyone talk to me of our 'Family Life,' and say that we shall be corrupting or destroying it by letting women drop votes into a ballot box twice in four years.'"

Teachers Union

THE movement to organize the teachers of the country into trade unions is advancing by leaps and bounds. The American Federation of Teachers, drawing its strength principally from Illinois, Indiana, New York and Washington, held recently its third national convention. It went on record in favor of one thousand dollars minimum salary for school teachers throughout the country and in opposition to the exploitation of children in industry, agreeing to work for the establishment of adequate child labor laws. The convention expressed its disapproval of the autocratic management of schools by political groups which have worked to control the thought of the teachers and through them the ideas of the youth. This control is exercised by the school board control of text-books, the curricula and general policies of the schools. "There can be no democracy in government or in industry unless there is democracy in education," is the opinion of the teachers.

Woman District Attorney

A WOMAN has for the first time been appointed on the staff of the district attorney of New York. She will be assistant district attorney of the Woman's Day Court and will have charge of the cases of women brought before the court on the charge of disorderly conduct. Miss Rosa Rotherberg, who will hold the position, is twenty-six years old and a native of Rumania.

A New Woman's Magazine

A GROUP of women in New York have started a monthly magazine called, "Judy." In the foreword they state that the publication "will be pro-woman without being anti-man; she will try to be experimental and entertaining without being silly, vigorous without being denied the use of the mails."

The entire editorial staff is composed of women.

Ratification Work in Many States

THE interest in ratification, throughout the various states of the union, grows every day. With the knowledge that eleven states have already ratified, that two more states, Arkansas and Nebraska, are to hold special sessions of their legislatures on the 28th of July to consider the matter, and with the realization that early complete ratification, which now seems possible, will permit the women of the country to participate in this Autumn's elections, other states which were not at first particularly interested in the immediate acceptance of the amendment have now awakened to the full importance of its early settlement.

A TELEGRAM has just arrived from Providence, Rhode Island, which bears still further fruits of the work done there two weeks ago by Mrs. Abbie Scott Baker, Political Chairman of the National Woman's Party. This telegram comes from Miss Margaret Whittemore, national organizer for the Party, now in that state, and brings the news that the Democratic State Central Committee has held a second meeting to consider the calling of a special session, passing a unanimous resolution waiving the discussion of all but the subject of the suffrage ratification, and demanding the special session for that purpose immediately.

When Mrs. Baker went to Provident to start the special session campaign in the latter part of June the Democrats did not favor a special session because they did not then see the necessity of ratification before the regular session next January, the Republicans did not favor a special session because they feared that other subjects would be brought up which would drag out the session unreasonably, and the Governor said he could not call a special session because nobody wanted it. After Mrs. Baker had talked with the Democratic leaders and shown them the necessity of ratification before fall a meeting of the State Central Committee was held and a resolution passed urging a special session at the earliest possible date. In her conversation with Governor Beeckman, during which he displayed a very real interest and a desire to help, Mrs. Baker was told that only the will of his party leaders, the Republicans, who did not wish a long drawn-out summer session, prevented the Governor from calling the session at once, in accordance with his own desires.

Now that the action of the Democrats in offering to the Republicans a pledge that the session shall be to consider suffrage and suffrage only, it is felt that the last difficulty is overcome.

Mrs. Baker, on receipt of the telegram, has left once more for Providence, where she will join Miss Whittemore, who has been arranging a deputation of women to the Governor. This deputation meets the Governor by appointment on Monday, July 14, at eleven o'clock.

A CAMPAIGN for a special session is to begin in New Jersey this week. Former Governor, now Senator, Edge, was known to be in favor of early ratification. The Acting Governor, who takes his place, is as yet non-committal on the question. Deputations will be organized to the Governor and a canvass made of the members of the legislature.

Miss Emily Pierson goes at once to Newark to act as state organizer for the campaign, under the direction of Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, New Jersey Chairman of the National Woman's Party. Miss Pierson was for several years state organizer for the Connecticut Branch and was last year teaching at De Pauw University in Indiana. A meeting of the New Jersey organization is called for Monday, July 14, Mrs. Hopkins presiding, to make plans for the campaign in which Miss Pierson is to help.

FURTHER pressure is being brought to bear upon Governor Shoup, of Colorado, in behalf of an early special session of the legislature of his state. Both Senator Phipps and Mr. C. C. Hamlin, of Colorado Springs, now in Washington, one of the most influential men in Colorado, and a close friend of the Governor, have wired the Governor urging that he immediately set a date for a special session. Governor Shoup had already promised a special session "if needed," but no date had yet been set, and the general impression seemed to be that it would not be until sometime in October.

In a very recent interview between Mr. Hamlin and Miss Anita Pollitzer, organizer for the National Woman's Party, Mr. Hamlin expressed his assurance that, realizing now the great gain to American women if ratification can be complete before September, Colorado will call a special session during the month of July to add her name to the list of ratifiers of the suffrage amendment.

A VERY active campaign has been waged in California, beginning as soon as the suffrage amendment passed the Senate at Washington. A large Ratification Committee has been at work under the leadership of Mrs. Genevieve Allen, State Chairman of the Woman's Party, with Miss Vivian Pierce, National Organizer, giving great assistance throughout the state.

Many petitions have been circulated up and down the length and breadth of the big state, to go to the Governor asking for a special session for suffrage, and special "Drives" have been organized in various places, beginning with the University of California Drive on the last day of June. The principle objection to the calling of a special session, as stated, seemed to be that the unusual distances to be traversed in so long a state as California made the mileage expense of a special session very great and beyond the possibility of consideration. To overcome this, two of the state legislators who were especially interested in an early session for ratification, Mr. Prendergast and Mr. Hurley, started an appeal among the legislators to waive their mileage, which appeal is progressing with remarkable success, showing the sentiment of the great majority of the legislature in favor of a special session.

Governor Stephens has not yet agreed to call the special session, but the campaign is still going on confidently and is amassing much public opinion and political sentiment in favor of immediate ratification. California, as a powerful suffrage state, will of course not fail to ratify as soon as the legislature is given an opportunity to pass on the question. State leaders are anxious that this may be soon, not only that they may help to assure thereby an early settlement of the national suffrage problem, but also that California may not seem to be remiss in helping extend to the rest of the country's women that right which she herself enjoys. The press of the state has given valiant support to the cause of early ratification, and the big meetings which have been held in many of the larger cities have received widespread publicity and approbation.

Mrs. William Kent, wife of Congressman Kent, of California, and Chairman of the Headquarters Maintenance Committee of the National Woman's Party in Washington, has gone to California to join Miss Pierce in working for the special session, and will interview the Governor in its behalf.

LOUISIANA has been enjoying quite a little excitement over the possibility of calling a special session for suffrage. Governor Pleasant, who had refused to call the legislature together or recommend the ratifying of the amendment, is absent from the state. Lieutenant-Governor Mouton likewise refused to consider issuing a call. The Lieutenant-Governor too, in his turn, was obliged to leave the state on urgent business, and during his absence the Acting-Governor, Stafford, President of the Senate, decided to make use of that prerogative which would be his only while both the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor were beyond the borders of the state, and call a special session. The call was actually issued, but, it seems that a telegram to this effect reach Lieutenant-Governor Mouton before he was quite beyond the state line, and he returned to Baton Rouge, thus annulling the call of the zealous Mr. Stafford and blighting the hopes of those anxious for an immediate session.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

"ARTICLE.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 ot the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

RATIFICATION BY STATES

1 Wisconsin, June 10, 1919
House Vote 54 to 2
Senate Vote 24 to 1

2 Michigan, June 10, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

3 Kansas, June 16, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

4 Ohio, June 16, 1919
House Vote 73 to 6
Senate Vote 27 to 3

5 New York, June 6, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

6 Illinois, June 17, 1919
House vote 133 to 4
Senate Vote unanimous

7 Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919
House Vote 153 to 44
Senate Vote 32 to 6

8 Massachusetts, June 25, 1919
House Vote 185 to 47
Senate Vote 34 to 5

9 Texas, June 28, 1919
House Vote 96 to 21
Senate Vote Unanimous

10 Iowa, July 2, 1919
House Vote 95 to 5
Senate Vote Unanimous

11 Missouri, July 3, 1919
House Vote 125 to 4
Senate Vote 28 to 3

The Suffragist

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Special Sessions

THE entire energy of the Woman's Party is centered upon the ratification of the suffrage amendment and eleven states have now responded with an overwhelmingly affirmative vote.

Although this is encouraging and there is no doubt of the two-thirds majority being ultimately obtained, it is nevertheless necessary that the goal be reached by September of this year if women are to register in September so that they can participate in the elections held in many states this November, for governors, members of the legislatures and mayors.

No legislatures, excepting those of Georgia and Alabama, will be in regular session before that time and the only means of accomplishing the desired end lies in the calling together of the legislative bodies in special sessions to vote upon the resolution.

The chief executives of a number of states, New York, Kansas, Iowa and Missouri, have already called their legislatures into special sessions to consider the suffrage amendment. The Arkansas and Nebraska legislatures have been called for July, and Indiana and Colorado have been called, but the date of meeting not yet set.

Although there is a certain amount of extra work and expense attached to the calling together of legislative bodies out of their regular order, it is infinitesimal compared with the magnitude of the matter they are asked to pass upon.

When the prohibition, income tax and direct election of senators amendments were passed by Congress, extra sessions of the legislative body were called to ratify them in many states; among others, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, Delaware, Minnesota and Illinois.

Nor is it wholly for federal amendments that governors have assembled their law making bodies at times other than their regular meeting. Special sessions have been called innumerable times for minor matters. In 1913 Tennessee held two extra sessions to regulate the liquor traffic of the state. In 1917 Montana called a special session to bond the state for agricultural purposes. In 1915 Mississippi assembled her legislature in order to pass an appropriation bill for money to meet certain deficiencies in state expenses. Minnesota had a special legislature in 1912 to pass a state primary law; Delaware, in 1906, to settle a difficulty over the election of a United States senator; Michigan, in 1919, for good roads legislation and a public utilities bill; Wisconsin, in 1918, for certain war measures; Alabama, in 1907 and in 1909 on bills relating to prohibition and railroad rates; and Virginia has just called a special session to pass bills pertaining to good roads.

It is evident, from these few instances, that the calling in extra session of the legislative bodies of the states has many precedents. It is not unreasonable, therefore, that women should expect a speedy assembling of legislatures to consider the suffrage amendment in states where months will pass before legislatures will convene in their regular order.

Now that the highest legislative body of the country, the Congress of the United States, has passed the suffrage resolution, it is not too much to expect that governors of the various states will speedily provide opportunity for the legislatures of their states to pass upon it.

Report of Work Georgia Legislature July 7-12

ON Monday, July 7, a hearing was held in the House of Representatives before the Constitutional Amendments committees of Senate and House. Representatives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association spoke. Miss Vernon and Mrs. Alice Strickland of Duluth, Georgia, Chairman of the Gwinnett County Branch of the National Woman's Party, represented the National Woman's Party. Miss Anne Martin spoke as the representative of the western women voters. All of the speakers brought out the fact that it is to the advantage of the National Democratic Party to have Georgia's legislature ratify the national suffrage amendment at this session.

The House committee in executive session amended the ratification resolution before them by inserting the word "not," making the resolution read that the Susan B. Anthony amendment be **not** ratified. The resolution as amended was reported favorably to the House. Such action, however, was taken by a close vote since nearly a majority of the committee, if not actually in favor of ratifying the Susan B. Anthony amendment, desired to postpone any precipitate action in defeating its ratification.

A letter from Mr. Clark Howell, National Democratic committeeman from Georgia, was read before this committee, containing a telegram Mr. Howell has received from Mr. Homer Cummings, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, asking that the Georgia legislature should not refuse ratification of the national suffrage amendment because of the adverse effect such action would have upon the fortunes of the Democratic Party in the national election of 1920.

The Constitutional Amendments Committee of the Senate reported unfavorably the Senate resolution to ratify the amendment. This report was made to the Senate on Tuesday, July 8. Senator Parker, the author of the resolution, and an opponent of the measure, moved that the unfavorable report of the committee be **disagreed** with. This was done by Senator Parker in order to show the suffrage and anti-suffrage strength in the Senate. The motion to disagree with the unfavorable report was defeated by a vote of 37 to 12. Senator Elders, a most ardent advocate of suffrage and the Susan B. Anthony amendment, then moved to table the report of the committee. This motion was defeated by a vote of 33 to 10. Senator Parker then moved that the report of the committee be **agreed** with. Senator Elders took the floor to speak to this motion and made a most ardent appeal for the ratification of the Anthony amendment in this session of the legislature. He continued to speak until one o'clock, the hour of adjournment of the Senate. Action was thus carried over until the next day. Senator Elders again took the floor and was immediately followed by Senator Dorris, an advocate of ratification, who made the motion that all discussion of the resolution be postponed until August 6. He was followed immediately by Senator Pittman, another supporter, who argued in favor of postponement and of suffrage until time for adjournment. Senator Pittman was frequently interrupted by opponents who made points of order against him. He was sustained by President Olive, and when the opponents made appeals from the decision of the Chair they involved themselves in such a parliamentary tangle that one opponent finally moved that the Senate adjourn, thus leaving the victory in the hands of the suffragists for the day. The next day the opponents of suffrage were forced to compromise, and unanimous consent was given to recommit the suffrage resolution to the Constitutional Amendments Committee, from which it had come. Thursday afternoon this committee met and amended the ratification resolution to read that the Susan B. Anthony amendment be **not** ratified. To this resolution a favorable report was given. The report will be made to the Senate next Wednesday, July 16.

From present appearances, the ratification resolution in the House will not be reached during the coming week, for discussion of appropriation measures begins on Monday, and it is expected that discussion of these measures will consume the entire week. When the ratification resolution comes up for discussion, suffrage advocates in the House promise to give their opponents as hard a battle as the anti-suffrage senators have already encountered.

M. Vernon.

Georgia papers are giving wide space to news and discussion of ratification, and the general expression of opinion seems to take the trend of the following, which is quoted from the "Atlanta Georgian," of July 5, 1919:

Congressman William D. Upshaw in Atlanta Saturday expressed great concern in a statement to a Georgian reporter over the rumored intent of anti suffragists in the Georgia Legislature to bring the Susan B. Anthony equal suffrage amendment to a vote at the present session for the purpose of killing it. He said such action would materially and adversely affect Democratic chances in the Presidential election of 1920:

Congressman Upshaw said:

"I must register my hope that the legislature of my own state will take no action that will show an antagonistic spirit toward equal suffrage.

"Any man who has felt the pulse of the national situation knows that the constitutional amendment will be ratified before the next Presidential election without Georgia's vote. And while I would love to see my own state, which is one of the pioneer prohibition states of the South, also be prompt in this expression of fundamental democracy, I am exceedingly anxious that Georgia shall do nothing that will hurt the Democratic Party when 10,000,000 women will march to the polls at the next Presidential election."

Suffrage Damage Suits Again Postponed

SUFFRAGE damage suits totalling $800,000 pending against the District Commissioners and officials have again been postponed by Judge Waddell until the first Monday in October, at the request of the Government.

This is the fifth postponement and according to the statement of Judge Waddell, will be the last granted the defense. The cases, which were brought following the illegal transfer of suffrage pickets from the District Jail to Occoquan and brutalities suffered by them in that Institution, have been ready for trial according to Matthew E. O'Brien, counsel for the suffragists, since a year ago this month.

The supposition is that the Government has asked for postponement of the trial in the belief that the suits might be withdrawn after the passage of the suffrage amendment. The National Woman's Party is, however, pressing the suits.

Superintendent Zinkham, of the District Jail, has been dismissed and Superintendent Whittaker, of Occoquan, has resigned under fire since these suits were brought by the suffragists but are still responsible for the treatment of prisoners during their terms of office.

Eight suffragists have filed the damage suits:

Miss Lucy Burns, New York City; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia; Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York; Miss Dorothy Day, of New York; Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, of Jacksonville, Fla.; Mrs. Cosu, of New Orleans; Mrs. Henry Butterworth, of New York City.

Special Sessions Called in Arkansas and Nebraska

TWO more states are expected to array themselves on the side of freedom for women before the month is out. These two states are Arkansas and Nebraska, special sessions of whose legislatures have already been called for July 28. It depends upon the activity of Alabama and Georgia, the only two states whose legislatures are at present in session, as to which two states, the Southern or the Western, shall have the honor of completing the group of the "original thirteen" ratifiers of this newest document of independence for American people.

Both legislatures are called especially for the purpose of considering the ratification of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. And it is considered certain that both legislatures will pass favorably upon the question immediately upon convening. The chief reason for this supposition is that both states have partial suffrage already, Arkansas primary, and Nebraska Presidential suffrage, and it is known that the sentiment in favor of ratification is widespread in both commonwealths. Before victory was won at Washington this Spring, the Nebraska legislature passed a resolution calling upon the United States Senate to pass the amendment, and in both state legislatures there is a known majority in behalf of ratifying that amendment now that it has been passed. The Arkansas delegation in Congress voted solidly in favor of the measure in May and June, and from Nebraska the House delegation supported the measure in a body, while the Senators stood divided, Senator Norris, Republican, voting aye, and Senator Hitchcock, Democrat, voting nay.

In Arkansas no campaign for early ratification was necessary. Immediately following the passage of the amendment in the United States Senate, communications were sent to the Governor asking him to call a special session for the purpose of securing Arkansas' vote on the question, and he replied at once that he would do so. The date has now been set, as announced above. In Nebraska Miss Doris Stevens, National Organizer for the Woman's Party, spent a week of intensive campaigning to urge upon the Governor and legislators of that state the necessity for a special session to speed up early and complete ratification. Mrs. W. E. Hardy, of Lincoln, State Chairman of the Woman's Party in Nebraska, heads a committee on ratification in that state. With assurance of both these newest special sessions by July 28, and with the probability of others within the next few months, hope of a final victory by fall looms larger on the horizon.

The Militant Campaign

By DORIS STEVENS

Reprinted from the Omaha Daily News, Sunday, June 29, 1919.

A SUCCESSFUL young Harvard engineer said to me the other day, "I don't believe you realize how much men objected to your picketing the White House. Now I know what I'm talking about. I've talked with men in all walks of life, and I tell you they didn't approve of what you women did."

This last with warmer emphasis and a scowl of the brow. "I don't suppose you were in a position to know how violently men felt about it."

I listened patiently and courteously. Should I disillusion him? I thought it was the honest thing to do. "Why, of course men didn't like it. Do you think we imagined they would? We knew they would disapprove. When DID MEN EVER applaud women fighting for their own liberty? We are approved only when we fight for yours." "You don't mean to say you planned to do something, knowing men would not approve?" I simply had to tell him. "Why, certainly! We're just beginning to get confidence in ourselves. At last, we've learned to make and stand by our own judgments." "But going to jail. That was pretty shocking." "Yes, indeed it was. It not only shocked us that a government would be alarmed enough to do such a thing, but what was more to the point, it shocked the entire country into doing something quickly about woman suffrage."

People are already beginning to put the proper judgment upon the latest phase of woman's militant fight for political liberty in America. I refer to the last six years of the intensive and courageous agitation conducted by the leaders of the National Woman's Party, which organization centered much of its attack on the government at Washington.

To understand the purpose and effect of this centralization of attack one must remember the long, forty-year fight during which woman's suffrage by national action made scant progress.

Suffragists have exhausted every form of approach known to human imaginations, such as processions, deputations, resolutions, interviews, mass meetings, open air meetings, drawing room meetings, pamphlets, legislative hearings before congressional committees, bazaars, and the thousand usual forms of campaign.

Smiles, sweet words, promises, weak planks in party platforms, empty eloquence at banquets by the slightly more astute politicians had been their main reward.

"What of immediate action?" said the suffragists.

"This is not the time," was the complacent answer from men who were in power, with nothing to win or gain by really standing up and fighting on this issue as they did on issues which affected their political interests and which commanded their fervent support.

"We must make woman suffrage an immediate issue; we must create a political situation so acute that politicians will have to settle it. National legislators must face suffrage as a question on which they will rise or fall, just the same as they rise or fall before an electorate on peace, war, currency, prohibition, tariff and the multitude of other campaign issues."

This was the problem which the younger suffrage leaders faced. This was the task undertaken by that unparalled organizing genius and political strategist, Miss Alice Paul, the frail little Quaker scholar who has inspired the profoundest respect in the breasts of the enemies of suffrage and the warmest devotion and admiration among friends.

The message sent to Miss Paul by Chief Justice Walter Clark of the supreme court of North Carolina typifies this faith and judgment:

"Will you permit me to congratulate you upon the great triumph in which you have been so important a factor? Your place in history is assured. Some years ago when I first met you I predicted that your name would be written 'on the dusty roll the ages keep.' There were politicians, and a large degree of public sentiment, which could only be won by the methods which you adopted. It is certain that but for you success would have been delayed for many years to come."

This was the comment, not of a fiery radical, but of a southern judge. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to have been associated with Miss Paul in the last few years know how true these words are.

A superficial observer might fancy the plan of campaign ill advised, sporadic and fanatical. It must be understood that every step was ta-

ken only after the most mature consideration. It was deliberate. It was based on well established political and military strategy, and upon a deep knowledge of the history of all reform movements.

WHO were the members of the executive committee who considered, and planned, and executed the program?

Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, always in the first rank of the fight, she who had begun her suffrage work with the more conservative wing and in spite of her years had deserted to the young rebel camp; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, daughter of Thomas Bayard, our first ambassador to Great Britain and secretary of state under President Cleveland (she made a wonderful jail mate); Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., direct descendant of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, daughter of Charles A. Dana, founder of the New York Sun, and an intimate friend of Lincoln; Miss Anne Martin, first woman to stand as a candidate for the United States Senate from Nevada, herself state president of the suffrage association in Nevada, which won state suffrage for Nevada women; Mrs. Donald Hooker, wife of Dr. Hooker, of Johns Hopkins University; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, sister of Dr. Kelley, famous radium expert, herself a member of Philadelphia's most exclusive clubs, founder of the Lighthouse Settlement and many other charities; Miss Lucy Burns, Vassar graduate and student abroad, formerly a teacher in the New York public schools, and so on. All women of education, scholarly attainments and gentle culture.

The military strategy of the campaign was based upon the military doctrine of concentrating all one's forces on the enemy's weakest point. The weakest point in our country's political lines, especially during the war, was our boasted crusade for world democracy, with the glaring inconsistency of the denial of democracy at home. That was the untenable position of President Wilson and the Democratic Administration.

Our political strategy consisted of opposing the party in power at elections, which had failed to use its power to free women. This not only harassed the offending party, but by example forced down the opposition of the minority party.

The most primer knowledge of history had taught us that no great reform could hope to succeed without a downright fight. Not necessarily a fight with arms; perhaps merely with brains, wits, and devoted sacrifice, but a real fight. That, we decided, was the self-respecting thing to do. We could not surprisingly submit to injustice.

TO return for a moment to the weakness in the President's armor. Here was a world leader with the almost pathetic trust of the peoples of the world, riding like a knight of old, championing the ideals of liberty, fraternity, democracy, equality and what not; also the self-determination of the Serbs, Poles, Czecho-Slovakians, Armenians, Rumanians—in fact, all the struggling nations of Europe.

Against this beautiful ephemeral hope and promise the women were demanding long delayed action. Action. That was the "acid test" of words, we said.

And so we started out to force action.

We merely sought to so dramatize this weakness with the only weapons at hand to which a powerless class which does not take up arms can resort. Did you ever stop to compare the methods which women adopted in their fight for liberty to those men use in the same struggle?

Bayonets, machine guns, poison gas, deadly grenades, liquid fire, bombs, armored tanks, pistols, barbed wire entanglements, submarines, mines—every known scientific device with which to annihilate the enemy.

What did we do? We could not and would not fight with such weapons.

How were we to make our fight seem more heroic and important by the side of men's world conflagration?

How could we, with reasonable speed, rout the enemy without weapons, and we a class without power and recognition?

Our simple, peaceful, almost quaint device was a BANNER! A banner on which were inscribed pertinent truths and burning questions, fiery challenges and sedate quotations from no less respectable sources than the Declaration of Independence, the Bible, President Wilson's learned volumes on "Liberty and the New Freedom," Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, and so on.

How could we possibly know a banner would create such a panic among presidents and cabinet ministers, congressmen and the populace? We must confess we thought this strange and gentle kind of warfare would disturb their afternoon naps and drives, their theater parties and golf games.

That it would alarm the high and mighty to such an astounding course of action our fondest hopes could not have guaranteed.

But the panic was on.

Hurried cabinet meetings, unprecedented meetings of the President himself with the District of Columbia commissioners! The summoning of the military to discuss declaring a military zone around the White House.

Rain and snow storms and freezing temperature did not deter these "unreasonable women." The sentinels, later known as White House pickets, kept up the vigil at the gates of the leader of the nation—the one powerful leader who could compel an unwilling Congress to act.

What would YOU do if you owed a just bill and every day someone stood outside your gates as a quiet reminder to the whole world that you had not paid it?

You would object. Yes.

You would get terribly irritated. Yes.

You would call the insistent one all kinds of harsh names. You might even arrest him. But the scandal would be out.

Rightly or wrongly, your sincerity would be touched; faith in you would be shaken a bit. Perhaps even against your will you would yield.

But you WOULD yield. And that was the one important fact to the women.

RIDICULED? of course. But we had nothing to lose by being ridiculed. Woman is more or less used to that weapon of men anyway. But a president and a cabinet simply cannot stand being made ridiculous, especially by women. That is what hurts.

There must be some way out of this difficulty, the government argued. And so they turned to jail.

Jail is always a convenient institution used by the oppressor when he miscalculates the strength of the oppressed. It would have been easy to jail two women. But what of 200?

When the two hundred mark had been reached the government collapsed. The stream of women willing to submit to the indignities of prison was endless. Obviously, the government must change its tactics.

More cabinet meetings. More hurried consultations. A government agent is sent to visit our leaders in prison to ask if we will abandon "picketing" if Congress passes the measure through one house and not the other.

A firm "No!" from the women.

Finally, unconditional release of all prisoners then serving, and no more arrests on the false charge of "blocking the traffic."

The women had won.

No matter that the higher courts subsequently declared all picket arrests, convictions and imprisonments illegal and unwarranted. The women were not bitter.

They could afford to forgive stupidity which had worked as a boomerang upon the government.

And so I repeat what has never been a secret. We set out to embarrass an administration unwilling to enfranchise women. We succeeded so well that we began to get results. The minute the government began to move we changed our strategy.

Finally, both majority parties were maneuvered into the long-sought position where neither could afford to delay longer. And to good Republicans I would say, "Do not be so sure your own party would have shown such eagerness to pass the amendment this session if it had not had before its political eyes for the last six years the very convincing argument of witnessing the political chastisement of the Democrats by the 'unreasonable women.'" That had a most salutary effect on the most conservative Republican.

The amendment has been passed in Congress, and now comes the last stage of our fight, ratification of the amendment by thirty-six states. Already eleven states have ratified. This stage is less spectacular, less heroic, but very necessary. At the rate we are now going we shall have completed the task by autumn.

Comments of the Press

Colorado Should Set the Pace

GOVERNOR Shoup's decision to call an extra session to record Colorado's indorsement of woman suffrage will be greatly approved. The expense will be limited because the pay of legislators already has been issued. They do not receive compensation at a perdiem rate but for the full period of their terms of office. Consequently the cost will be limited to mileage, clerk hire and the minor incidentals of a three or four-day session.

But the governor's determination to call the extra session ought to be accompanied by a general desire to take the action as promptly as possible. Only the least possible time should be permitted to elapse before the session convenes. Colorado, a pioneer in granting the franchise to its women, should not be slow in ratifying the federal amendment. Kansas and New York preceded her day before yesterday. Tomorrow may bring news of similar action by others. It is to be hoped that the governor will brook no delay. Colorado ought to be on record as promptly as possible.—Colorado Springs Gazette, June 17, 1919.

From Our Friend—The Enemy

FOR more than seventy years the woman suffrage movement has been in progress, slowly for most of the time, with exceeding swiftness in the last few years. The now venerable Anthony amendment has at last passed Congress, easily in the House, by two more votes than the required two-thirds in the Senate. Mr. Hale, of Maine, has seen a new light since Feb. 10. Then he voted No. Now he says Yes, forgetting Maine's popular majority of 18,000 on the other side, and glad to take the voice of the legislature for the voice of the people. Of the new senators the Democratic Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts votes Yes, as a tribute, doubtless, to his state's 133,000 majority of Noes. Democratic Mr. Harris of Georgia may be thought to believe that the Republicans shouldn't be allowed to reap the credit—though it is to be feared that they will—of putting the resolution for the amendment through Congress. Democratic Mr. Stanley of Kentucky devoted some spirited rhetoric to the defense of state rights not long ago. Hence his Yes. And so on. All past opinions are Pickwickian to a statesman looking 1920 in the eye.

To the National American Woman Suffrage Association, so ably and so subtly led by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the gold pen with which the golden resolution was signed in the Senate was given in just testimony of the skill, the sagacity, and the habitual moderation of the majority feminist organization. Yet the National Woman's Party, bolder, more original, implacable, should have been honored, shall we say, by a brass inkstand? In the hands of determined women a full card index of politicians is mightier than pen or sword.—N. Y. Times, June 6, 1919.

Her Coming of Age

IN a few days the national suffrage amendment will be subject to state ratification.

The question is how soon can it be submitted to a sufficient number of legislatures as required by federal constitution to secure its adoption and make it part of the fundamental law. Congress may have delayed the amendment long enough to escape its becoming a factor in the presidential election; but the knowledge that equal suffrage is at hand will make a whole lot of difference to the women who cannot vote just yet. . . .

The war made suffrage in this country a certainty at an early day. Without the war it might have been delayed a few years; but the world war gave the world at large and the politicians of numerous nations a new thought regarding woman as a patriot and defender of the nation as well as the hearth. She stood with man, was in many respects his superior. She sensed the great questions involved in the war and she could not be turned aside. Her instinct is keener than man's. She was able in her inner consciousness to winnow the wheat from the chaff. As she had done thousands of years ago, she did again—she put heart into the male; she encouraged him and, when necessary, shamed him. It was woman who made the draft law in this country a working success. She was the mainstay behind the recruiting sergeant in another nation. She suffered much, was prepared to suffer a great deal more, if necessary, in order that right, as she instinctively grasped it, should prevail. Her vote in this country will be for social and industrial betterments. When anything of moment affecting the welfare of the family—and that means really the greater family of the nation—comes forward she will be on guard.—Rocky Mountain News, Denver, May 24, 1919.

Fruits of the Agitation

THE woman suffrage agitation in Washington is bearing fruit in unexpected quarters. One after another of official underlings reflecting the mental attitude of their superiors (?) have had to be sacrificed. The first to go, according to The Suffragist, was Mayor Sylvester, the incompetent head of the Washington police force. The next man was Superintendent Whitaker of Occoquan Workhouse, following the suffragists' exposure of the frightful conditions for which he was responsible, and their filing of damage suits for $400,000.00 against the officials of Occoquan and the District Commissioners. The third is Louis C. Zinkham, Superintendent of the District of Columbia jail. Zinkham conducted his jail much as a sewer, it is said, where women, rats and vermin were forced to share quarters impartially. It is to be hoped the women "pickets" will reach our silk hatted servants who used these dismissed officials for their dirty work.—The Probe, July 7, 1919.

From a Southern Paper

THOSE who cherish the idea that the woman suffrage amendment, just passed by Congress, will be defeated or annulled by the failure of enough State Legislatures to approve it—two-thirds of all, or thirty-six, must do so in both branches—will soon see their miscalculations. As soon as Congress has approved an amendment and the popular sentiment on it has been made clear, it is a very easy matter to get the legislative indorsement of the states. This was clearly shown in the case of the eighteenth amendment, prohibiting the importation, manufacture or sale of liquor, the opposition to which was supposed to be so strong, and it was expected to take a long campaign to secure the necessary approval. Seven years was allowed for obtaining the necessary number of state approvals, but that limit was not necessary. Prohibition received all the ratifications it needed within less than two years, carrying forty-four of the forty-eight states. And what astonished many persons were the big majorities by which liquor was voted out.

The belief that the nineteenth, or suffrage amendment, will hang fire, and that opposition to some of its provisions that exist in the Southern states will tend to hold back its indorsement, is likely to meet with the same experience. Only thirty-six states need give their approval, and, as a matter of fact, thirty-seven states already have approved woman suffrage in some form or shape. The legislative votes on the question show even larger majorities than prohibition received. Illinois led with the first approval, the Senate voting ratification of the amendment unanimously, and the House by a vote of 132 to 3.

Wisconsin was the second state in line, with nearly the same unanimity, the Senate voting approval of the amendment by 23 to 1, and the House 54 to 2. Thus, in these two great states there were only three votes in all against suffrage. In the light of such returns the opponents of suffrage must be very optimistic to believe they can stop the suffrage movement now. With our recent experience of amendments and the surprising ease with which they can be made a part of our organic laws, the chance of checking this constitutional wave seems most unpromising.—New Orleans Times, June 11, 1919.

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Total collected by National Headquarters, June 30, through July 10	5,030.10
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	435,842.73
Total collected through July 10, 1919	440,872.83

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Total	837.25
Total collected by Branches	837.25
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	87,894.93
Total collected by branches through July 10, 1919	88,732.18
Grand Total	529,615.01
Deduction: Transferred from branch headquarters to National Headquarters	5,433.50
Grand Net Total	$524,181.51

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Comments of the Press

Omens of Success

IF any one had any notion that the suffrage amendment was to face an uphill and difficult battle, the vote in Illinois ought to serve as a significant warning. There is nothing new or radical about this very American spot. It has been one of these United States for over a century. The southern half includes enough southern settlers to give the state a real claim to being representative of about every element that America possesses. If there is such a thing as an average state or a typical state Illinois has a very good claim to the title. And Illinois ratified the suffrage amendment by a unanimous vote in the Senate and a vote of 132 to three in the House.

The fact that Illinois has granted women presidential and municipal suffrage undoubtedly added to the strength of the movement and made ratification certain. But such unanimity indicates something more than political pressure. It means that the question has been removed from the realm of doubt, that opposition has collapsed.

The remainder of the 10 states whose legislatures are now in session or are soon to be called in special session will be quick to follow the example of Illinois, already seconded by Wisconsin. Four more whose legislatures meet next January in regular session are counted upon to ratify. This leaves 22 states needed to complete the 36. Mrs. Catt's telegram to the governors of 22 states asking them to agree to call special sessions should bring a prompt acceptance. It might be difficult to obtain special sessions if the result were in doubt, but if agreement can be reached for the necessary number of states the movement will undoubtedly gather weight daily.

Women will help choose the President in 29 states in 1920, anyway. The whole country ought to march to the polls on the same basis of womanhood suffrage. We think the results in Illinois and Wisconsin are sure omens that it will.—The New York Tribune, June 17, 1919.

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Governor Allen's Example

GOVERNOR Shoup might do well, after all, to follow the example of Governor Allen in Kansas. The latter executive addressed communications to the senators and representatives of the Kansas legislature asking how many would come to Topeka to hold an extra session and ratify the suffrage amendment, making no charge for their service. With the women holding the ballot in Colorado, how many statesmen courageous would there be who would refuse to attend?—Colorado Springs Gazette, June 17, 1919.

The New Victory

THE final passage of the federal suffrage amendment is a victory for all liberals, and particularly for the band of women whose work has been so patient and courageous. Suffrage is not democracy; it does not put an end to sweatshops, hunger or illiteracy; but it is a firm step toward a better state. And the suffragists have every justification in their demand for immediate ratification. Because the machinery of our state legislatures is unwieldy they ask for extra sessions. In only six states is there a session every year; in only five others will the legislature happen to meet in time to ratify the amendment, if they choose to ratify it, before the next election. There are thirty-seven states in which no action can be taken by that time, unless the governors summon their assemblies for that particular purpose.—New Republic, June 14, 1919.

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